

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-11 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SAM-01

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CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02 ARA-06 USIE-00 INRE-00

SAJ-01 /108 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6808

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KINSHASA 1927

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USMISSION EC

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EAID, ECON, CG, US

SUBJECT: GOZ ASKS FOR CONCERTED ASSISTANCE FROM OLD FRIENDS:
RENAISSANCE OF THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP

1. SUMMARY: AS HIS FIRST OFFICIAL ACT WITHIN ZAIRE

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AS THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER, NGUZA KARL-I-BOND HOSTED A LUNCH FOR

THE CHIEFS OF MISSION OF THE COUNTRIES HE RECENTLY VISITED IN THE WAKE OF THE DENOUEMENT IN ANGOLA. HIS PITCH, ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU, WAS STRAIGHTFORWARD AND URGENT: ZAIRE'S ACCOMMODATION WITH THE SOVIET/CUBAN BACKED MPLA LAST WEEKEND WAS JUST THAT--A PRACTICAL ACCOMMODATION TO THE SHIFT IN THE BALANCE OF POWER IN CENTRAL AFRICA. IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT ZAIRE, OR ZAMBIA, CAN LET THEIR GUARD DOWN, NOR DOES IT DETRACT FROM THE CRITICAL BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

ON THE CONTRARY, ALL THE OLD FRIENDS WITH MAJOR INTERESTS IN CENTRAL AFRICA (MOST OF THE ADDRESSEE POSTS) SHOULD REVIVIFY THE OLD CONSULTATIVE GROUP AND THROUGH CONCERTED ACTION MOVE QUICKLY TO SUPPORT ZAIRE'S AND ZAMBIA'S ECONOMIC STABILIZATION EFFORTS IN THE IMF CONTEXT; THEY SHOULD CONCERT AS WELL TO INSURE THE MODERNIZATION OF ZAIRE'S ARMED FORCES TO COUNTER-BALANCE THE SOVIET/CUBAN CAPABILITY NOW IN THE HANDS OF THE MPLA; AND NOT LEAST, THE WESTERN POWERS WITH INFLUENCE SHOULD PRESSURE THE SOUTH AFRICANS IN NAMIBIA AND SMITH IN RHODESIA TO MOVE TO BLACK MAJORITY GOVERNMENTS--OTHERWISE SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL BE THE SCENE OF SOVIET/CUBAN-BACKED CONFLAGRATION, WHICH NO AFRICAN STATE CAN OPPOSE, INCLUDING ZAIRE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER, NGUZA, TOLD THE CHIEFS OF MISSION OF FRANCE, BELGIUM, GREAT BRITAIN, W. GERMANY, THE NETHERLANDS AND THE US THAT HE HAD ARRANGED HIS FIRST OFFICIAL LUNCHEON--INDEED HIS FIRST OFFICIAL ACT WITHIN ZAIRE--TO BRIEF ON THE MOTIVES AND RESULTS OF THE ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN MOBUTU AND NETO LAST WEEKEND IN BRAZZAVILLE. ZAIRE HAS ASKED YOU FOR URGENT ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE, HE SAID, AND PRESIDENT MOBUTU BELIEVES YOU SHOULD UNDERSTAND WHAT HAPPENED IN BRAZZAVILLE AND WHAT WE THINK THE FUTURE HOLDS. NGUZA'S EXPLANATION WAS STRAIGHTFORWARD AND HE RESPONDED OPENLY TO ALL OUR QUESTIONS. THE DETAILS OF WHAT HE SAID HAVE ALREADY BEEN REPORTED IN KINSHASA'S 1874, WHICH IS BEING REPEATED TO THOSE WHO HAVE NOT RECEIVED IT.

3. IN SUM, NGUZA SAID THAT NETO HAD PUSHED FOR THE ACCOMMODATION BECAUSE HE WANTED TO SECURE HIS NORTHERN AND EASTERN FRONTIER IN ORDER TO FREE UP THE SOVIET/CUBAN FORCE FOR USE AGAINST THE SOUTH AFRICANS IN ANGOLA, AND IN ORDER TO GET WHAT HE WANTED THE MPLA LEADER WAS PREPARED TO GUARANTEE ZAIRE'S HISTORICAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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IMMEDIATE VITAL INTERESTS: THE EXPORT/IMPORT ROUTES THROUGH MATADI AND OVER THE BENGUELA RAILROAD; NEUTRALIZATION OF THE KATANGAN GENDARMES, WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET/CUBAN FORCES AWAY FROM ZAIRE'S BORDERS; AND A PROMISE THAT CABINDA WOULD BE ACCORDED AN AUTONOMOUS, OR SPECIAL STATUS. MOBUTU, FACED WITH THE SHIFT IN THE BALANCE OF POWER WITHIN CENTRAL AFRICA AS A RESULT OF THE SOVIET/CUBAN INTERVENTION, HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO BUY THE BEST DEAL HE COULD HAVE HOPED FOR, IN THE SHORT RUN.

4. HAVING SAID THAT, NGUZA EMPHASIZED THAT THE OBVIOUS INTENT OF THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS IS TO REMAIN AND IMPLANT THEMSELVES IN ANGOLA AND HOPEFULLY BEYOND. AT A MINIMUM, THE SOVIET/CUBANS WILL STAY IN ANGOLA TO TRAIN THE MPLA ON THE MASSIVE AND SOPHISTICATED MILITARY HARDWARE THEY HAVE POURED IN. ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA HAVE NO ILLUSIONS WHEN IT COMES TO THE MPLA/SOV/CUBANS' VISION OF REPLACING MODERATE REGIMES IN CENTRAL AFRICA. THE ACCOMMODATION BOUGHT A LITTLE TIME, BUT IT MUST BE USED TO MODERNIZE ZAIRE'S ARMED FORCES SO THEY CAN BE A "FORCE DE DISSUASION" TO COUNTER THE SOPHISTICATED THREAT THAT NOW EXISTS IN ANGOLA.

5. BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE BALANCE OF POWER AND INTENTION/CAPABILITY QUESTIONS NGUZA TOLD THE ASSEMBLED CHIEFS OF MISSION THAT IT WAS PERFECTLY OBVIOUS FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH NETO THAT THE MPLA INTENDED NOT ONLY TO USE THE SOVIET/CUBAN FORCES TO DRIVE SOUTH AFRICA FROM ANGOLA--BUT ALSO TO PROSECUTE THE CONTINUING LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA--BEGINNING WITH NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. NETO MIGHT NOT HIMSELF DRIVE ACROSS THE NAMIBIAN BORDER, HE SAID, BUT HE WOULD AT A MINIMUM RUN SIGNIFICANT SWAPO OPERATIONS FROM BEHIND THE SOV/CUBAN COVER ALONG THE FRONTIER. THE UNFOLDING SCENARIO AND POTENTIAL OF THE NETO/SOVIET/CUBAN ROLE IN RHODESIA HAS BEEN AMPLY REPORTED ELSEWHERE AND THUS NGUZA'S REMARKS NEED NOT BE RECOUNTED HERE.

6. IN ANSWER TO POINTED QUESTIONS, NGUZA ADMITTED THAT NETO HAD ASKED MOBUTU IF HE WOULD JOIN IN THE ACCELERATED LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. MOBUTU REFERRED NETO TO HIS 1973 SPEECH AT THE UN--AN AMBIGUOUS ANSWER, AS NGUZA POINTED OUT. BUT, THE FOREIGN MINISTER HASTENED TO ADD, IF INDEED IT COMES TO AN ARMED CONFLAGRATION, ZAIRE MUST APPLAUD. "WE WILL NOT SEND OUR TROOPS TO JOIN THE FIGHT IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA, BUT WE, AS ANY OTHER AFRICAN STATE, MUST SUPPORT THE LIBERATION FORCES."

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-11 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SAM-01

ACDA-05 MC-02 AID-05 EB-07 TRSE-00 CIEP-01 OMB-01

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7. NGUZA THEN CLEARLY STATED THAT THIS WAS NOT WHAT ZAIRE AND THE MODERATE AFRICAN STATES WANTED TO SEE HAPPEN. ON THE CONTRARY, HE BEGGED US TO BRING WHAT PRESSURE WE COULD ON SMITH TO TURN OVER THE REINS TO NKOMO AND ON THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO TURN NAMIBIA OVER TO THE UN WHO SHOULD IMMEDIATELY CALL A REFERENDUM AIMED AT ESTABLISHING AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT. THIS IS THE SAME URGENT PLEA THAT THE NUMBER TWO MAN, BISENGIMANA, HAS MADE TO US PRIVATELY IN RECENT WEEKS, AND THE QUID IS THAT IF THE WESTERN POWERS CAN MOVE RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA TO INDEPENDENT STATUS AND MAJORITY RULE QUICKLY, ZAIRE AND MANY OTHERS WILL BE THE FIRST TO CONFIDENTIAL

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RECOGNIZE. AS BISENGIMANA HAS PUT IT-- THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES COULD IMMEDIATELY ASK FOR WESTERN AND AFRICAN HELP TO STEM THE POTENTIAL AGGRESSION OF THE SOVIETS/CUBANS; ZAIRE WOULD BE THE FIRST TO LEND SUPPORT.

8. AFTER THE HIGH POLITICS, NGUZA GOT DOWN TO WHAT HE CALLED THE ESSENTIAL PROBLEM: ZAIRE'S AND ZAMBIA'S NEED FOR URGENT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. WITH REMARKABLE HONESTY, THE FOREIGN MINISTER ANALYZED THE POTENTIAL POLITICAL REPERCUSSION OF THE CURRENT

ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL CRISIS--A BASIC AND SERIOUS IMBALANCE AGGRAVATED BY THE EVENTS IN ANGOLA (CLOSURE OF THE BENGUELA, ETC.) HE TOLD US ALL HOW PLEASED HE AND MOBUTU HAD BEEN AT THE RECEPTION HE HAD RECEIVED IN OUR VARIOUS COUNTRIES AND WITH THE ASSURANCE FROM EACH OF US THAT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WOULD BE FORTHCOMING. NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT, HE SAID.

9. THUS, THE BASIC PITCH WAS FOR URGENT BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ASSISTANCE FOR ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA, MODERNIZATION OF ZAIRE'S ARMED FORCES AND A PLEA FOR IMMEDIATE BLACK RULE IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. ON THE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS THAT WENT BACK AND FORTH FOR MORE THAN TWO HOURS, THE ASSEMBLED DIPLOMATS STUDIOUSLY IGNORED THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTION, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT THEY WOULD FAITHFULLY REPORT. BUT ON THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SIDE, IT QUICKLY BECAME APPARENT THAT WHILE EACH POTENTIAL DONOR WAS ANXIOUS TO DO WHAT HE COULD, THERE WAS A WOEFUL LACK OF FACTS AND AN EVEN MORE LAMENTABLE LACK OF COORDINATION AMONGST THE "OLD FRIENDS."

10. NGUZA QUICKLY SAW THE PROBLEM AND SAID THAT HE WOULD FOLLOW UP ON THIS FIRST LUNCHEON BY ARRANGING ANOTHER WITH THE GOZ STABILIZATION COMMITTEE--AND THEN WITH THE ZAIRIAN MILITARY TO ASSURE THAT EVERYONE HAD A GOOD PICTURE OF THE NEEDS. HE ALSO FORESAW THE NEED TO TIE THE TWO ASPECTS OF ASSISTANCE BACK INTO AN APPROACH THAT WOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF ZAIRE'S LONG RANGE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PLAN, ESPECIALLY IN ITS DEBT SERVICE ASPECTS. IN RETURN, HE CALLED FOR THE RE-ANIMATION OF THE OLD CONSULTATIVE GROUP AND ASKED US TO CONCERT AMONGST OURSELVES TO FASHION AN OVERALL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. IN THIS REGARD, HE ALSO SAW THAT THIS FIRST LUNCHEON GROUP HAD TO BE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE THE JAPANESE, THE ITALIANS AND THE CANADIANS.

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11. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE NGUZA IS MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION BY STRESSING NEED FOR COORDINATED EFFORT AND WE CAN ONLY ENCOURAGE THE DEPARTMENT TO REDOUBLE ITS EFFORTS VIS-A-VIS OUR ALLIES TO ASSURE A CLOSE COORDINATION IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP (ADD, OF COURSE, THE WORLD BANK AND THE FUND TO NGUZA'S LIST) AS WE GARNER THE RESOURCES NEEDED IN ZAIRE. ONE THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA, AS SEEN FROM HERE, WE HAVE NO REASON TO DOUBT NGUZA'S CALCULATION THAT THERE IS VERY LITTLE TIME LEFT TO COME UP WITH OTHER THAN A VIOLENT ANSWER.
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